

The University of Chicago

THE HOPI INDIAN FAMILY

A STUDY OF THE CHANGES REPRESENTED IN
ITS PRESENT STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF HOME ECONOMICS
AND HOUSEHOLD ADMINISTRATION

1935

By

MARGARET BRAINARD

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INTRODUCTION

The thesis undertook to examine from three aspects the changes represented in the present family life of one selected group of people, and to portray these changes as they have moved across and related themselves to the scheme of life as a whole. The first consideration, that of structure, dealt with the family as a group of associated individuals, the second discussed the family as a function-performing device, while the third was concerned with that body of inter-related custom and usage by which it had become established as a social institution.

The Hopi and Tewa people of the Tusayan villages were chosen for this purpose, and five steps were represented in the procedure. The first consisted of extensive reading, review of other studies of less developed peoples, decision as to points of attack, and the preparation of tentative forms for recording data. The preparatory period was succeeded by five weeks (during the late summer of 1930) on the Hopi Reservation; this in turn being followed by an analysis of the material obtained, and another interval of intensive reading. Final research in the field covered a span of six months. Here the bulk of the information was obtained from local informants, both government employee and Hopi, from the office files of the reservation superintendent, charge accounts of native trading posts, and some half hundred forms checked by individual families. Supplementary data were had from hospital and day-school reports, post office records of money orders issued, and observation. Residence in three Hopi families afforded opportunity for an intimate acquaintance with present day situations, and a stay of over five months in one village gave a fair working knowledge

of practically every family there. Less prolonged contacts were made with several families at the other villages. The concluding work was devoted to analysis and organization of the data.

This study disclosed a closely integrated social organization, founded upon the clan family unit, developing and maintaining itself as the result of a struggle for existence so intense as to dominate all affairs of life--material, social, and religious. It revealed, more recently, the slow decadence of the clan, an emerging self-realization on the part of the small family, and its partial transition from an arbitrarily assigned census grouping into the recognized social unit. It found accompanying this development, a profound culture conflict between the Indian and the white man, a loss of functions by the clan, and a limited emancipation of the individual. It discovered also the increasing use of a food supply in the procuring of which clan ritual was unnecessary, and over which clan authority was powerless, the extension of this practice to other purchased articles, and for the young, a divided security in the establishment of new standards and new values.

From this analysis evolved, as hypotheses, three sequential concepts of the family. First, that of the family as a number of co-operating persons executing as a unit, functions which are, or are believed to be, accomplished better collectively than individually; a convenient device by which the physical, social, and spiritual adjustment of the individual is facilitated. Second, that of the family as a group whose structure, except for the institutionalization of socially approved ways of living and the extended period of helplessness with which each member begins life, would tend to adapt itself to the functions to be performed. Third, a concept of the family as a social unit whose form at any one

time is the compromise in terms of the security of each, resulting from the conflict of the individual's desire for expression and the restraining force of a society interested in the maintenance of the status quo.

Only one aspect--that of the changing structure of the Hopi family--is presented in the material which follows. The summary is made in terms of the thesis as a whole.

CHAPTER IV
THE ORGANIZATION OF HOPI SOCIETY

At present there are eleven Hopi villages,¹ seven of which date back to the days of Spanish occupation, although only one of these, Oraibi, occupies the same location. The most easterly mesa, a narrow projection about three miles long and from six to two hundred feet wide, furnishes scant room on its top for the house clusters of Walpi, Sitsomovi, and Hano. A newer village, Polacca, has grown up around the government buildings and mission at the foot of the mesa. A small group of dwellings, known as Five Houses, is located about three miles from Polacca. The village of Mishongnovi covers all of one section of the middle mesa, Shipaulovi has crowded itself on to a smaller portion, while Chimopovi has more spacious accommodations on another projection. A few homes have been built by Christian converts around the mission center below Mishongnovi. Third Mesa also has three villages on its top; Old Oraibi to the east, now falling into decay,² and Hotevilla and Bacabi on the opposite side of the mesa. Kiqotsomovi, a village of fifty-six families, in the valley below the old village, now usually is referred to as Oraibi because of the government post office of that name located there. Moencopi, located in another Indian jurisdiction farther west, and re-established

¹A list of these villages, the spelling corresponding to that given by Voth, follows -- First Mesa: Walpi, Sitsomovi, Hano (also Tewa and Hanóki), Polacca. Second Mesa: Supawlawi, Musannowi, Sonóhpawí. Third Mesa: Oraywi, Hotwela, Pákawi, Kiqótsmowí, Múnkapi.

²This refers to the houses as a whole. The population has shown a slight increase within the last ten years.

as a Hopi farming outpost for Third Mesa people, has developed into a small permanent village. It is not included in the present discussion. The name, Toreva, has been given to the post office and school serving two of the Second Mesa villages. Only one Hopi family has joined the white group living near.

The Clan

Structurally, Hopi society was founded upon the clan. Tradition accords the first occupancy of the region to the Bear people, other such groups having been introduced from time to time through immigration and possibly through marriage, or by captive women from destroyed villages. The term, phratry, has been applied, as a matter of expediency, to certain linkages or associations of clans which, according to Hopi explanation, "go together." The distinctive place which these groupings originally filled in Hopi life is not known. Formerly, each component clan or phratry was said to have occupied its own house cluster or section of the village, performed its own ritual, and frequented its own kiva. Gradually the exigencies of life led to the amalgamation of these diverse elements into a unified social organization. Functioning within each separate clan but so closely integrated with it as to have received less social recognition was the extended matrilineal household, and embraced within it was the small family group consisting of parents and children.

A list of Hopi clans synthesized from studies made at different dates between 1851 and 1934, included the names of over one hundred of these groups.¹ A record covering the whole of the

¹Ten Broeck, 1853; Bourke, 1881; Mindelleff, 1883; Stevens, 1888; Fewkes, 1890-1900; Lowie, 1915; Parsons, 1920; Curtis, 1930; Eggan, 1933; Forde, 1930. None of these lists includes all of the villages.

traditional history of the tribe would be extensive indeed. The proportion of this number ever in existence at any one time is a matter of uncertainty due to confusion as to phratry groupings and to customary system of nomenclature. Descent being through the mother, clans waxed and waned, flourishing with the increase of daughters and declining or disappearing when represented alone by male descendants.¹ It seems likely also that new clans were introduced by division as well as by immigration.

Classification, according to clan membership, of the 2475 Hopi on the 1930 census file made for this study, resulted in between thirty-five and forty divisions, or about one-third of those mentioned in the various studies since 1851.

Here again the exact status of the phratry presented a problem. In some instances, clan membership was stated in terms of a combination, in others as that of a distinct clan, although recognition of phratral relationships of the father's clan appeared in the Indian name borne. Cases were discovered in which a portion of the members of the same lineage had been listed as of a combination, the others of the different clans composing it. This tendency apparently had little reference to the liberal or conservative character of the village. At Hotevilla, a reactionary village, for example, clan boundaries were observed in the classification, while at Kiqotsomovi greater indifference to exact clan affiliation seemed to be the rule.² Second Mesa, on the other

¹Women from allied clans are said sometimes to have been adopted into failing clans, by way of effecting their perpetuation.

²In some cases, lack of exact information on the part of the person making the classification might have been a factor, although probably not a dominant one. The same woman gave the information concerning both villages. A further possibility, not investigated, was that exact classification was of importance only to the individual or his immediate family and that the

hand, quite conservative, displayed in this respect a close union between members of the phratry group.

The extent to which statement of the clan membership in terms of a combination reflected the integration of the larger group, and to what degree an effort to preserve the entity of a disappearing clan, was not determined. There was the suggestion, in one or two cases, that the designations might have resulted from the person's having moved to a village where his clan was not represented. Becoming associated with others of the phratry in residence, the double title was adopted that individual clan identity not be lost.¹ In six instances, one member of the combination seemed to be absent; in one, neither clan was given separate listing; while in ten others, both clans were mentioned alone as well as in combination. One woman's remark that the Corn and Cloud Clans at her mesa were trying to "get together" suggests that clan or ceremonial perpetuation was a motive not entirely absent.²

Because of the lack of exact information and the differences existing in the composition of these alliances, no attempt at phratry grouping was undertaken in the analysis used, other than that indicated in the clan classification given.³ These did not include all sub-groups so related at any of the three mesas.

necessity for differentiation in the popular mind was in reverse proportion to the extent of passing of clan functions to the phratry group or some portion of it.

¹However, a Kiqotsomovi woman of a Second mesa, Sun-Eagle family, was listed as Sun-Moon according to the designation in vogue at Third Mesa.

²A generally accepted relationship between the Corn and Cloud people already existed.

³Clans reported as linked were, however, so grouped in the tables constructed that totals were easily obtained.

For convenience in tabulation, all members of the component clans were listed as belonging to the combination when any in a village were so classified, even though the exact clan, in other cases, may have been stated. When clan distinctions were made throughout, these were preserved although variation from previous clan census data suggested such precision to have been of questionable exactness.¹

Two clans only (Sun and Cloud) were represented in every village, the Bear and Katsina Clans were absent from only one, while Coyote people were found in every village except Shipaulovi and Chimopovi, and members of the Corn Clan in all but Shipaulovi and Oraibi.² Representatives of the Badger, Butterfly, Bear, Cloud, Corn, Coyote, Katsina, Snake, and Sun Clans were living at each of the three mesas. Regardless of this apparent greater scattering, the tendency noted by Mindeleff³ for specific clans to be concentrated at certain mesas still was in evidence. For instance, the Deer, Flute, Fir, and Asa groups were at First Mesa only; the Greasewood, Crow, and Lizard solely at Third Mesa. Some

¹Such a plan, it is believed, in conforming to the clan identification popularly attributed to the person, compensated for a loss in accuracy by indicating more nearly the present situation.

²Those living away from the reservation were for this purpose not included, having been considered a part of Kiqotsomovi and Oraibi villages. At Shipaulovi and at Chimopovi, the Sun Clan was listed only as Sun and Ground Squirrel, and at Oraibi, only as Sun and Moon. Since neither Moon nor Ground Squirrel had received previous mention, these people were considered as Sun Clan.

³Cf. Cosmos Mindeleff, "Localization of Tusayan Clans," Bureau of American Ethnology, Nineteenth Annual Report, Part II, 1897-1898, p. 652: "It will be noticed, also, that while a scattering of clans throughout the villages was the rule, some of them, generally the older ones, were confined to one village or were concentrated in one village with perhaps one or two families in others."

combinations, likewise, seem to have received special emphasis at definite mesas, although the "belonging together" probably was recognized at all.¹

When all factors were taken into consideration, no great differences were traceable in 1930, between mesas and villages, with regard to the number of clans making up their populations. This was not true some fifty years ago, when Hano, Sitsomovi, and so late as 1920, Bacabi and Hotevilla, newer villages, had more homogeneous populations with regard to clan membership.

Comparisons were made,² based on the work of Mindeleff-Stephen in 1883, dealing with all the villages except Chimopovi;³ that of Fewkes at Hano, Sitsomovi, and Walpi in 1893 and 1900;⁴ that of Lowie in 1915 for two First Mesa villages (Sitsomovi and Walpi, combined) and two Second Mesa villages (Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi);⁵ and Mrs. Parson's list of Third Mesa clans, made in 1920.⁶

¹The Spider-Hopi Rope-Bluebird combination seemed to be identified especially with Second Mesa; Sun-Moon, Goat-Coyote, Bow-Arrow with Third Mesa; and the Deer-Horn-Elk people with the eastern villages.

²The data, however, were not strictly comparable, since the 1883 house census and the clan census of Fewkes probably did not include (as did that of 1930) husbands born away from the village.

³Mindeleff, op. cit., p. 651.

⁴J. W. Fewkes, "On Hopi Clans," American Anthropologist, n. s. VI (1904), 761-62.

⁵Ibid., "Tusayan Migration Traditions," Bureau of American Ethnology, Nineteenth Annual Report (1897-1898), pp. 614-22.

⁶Elsie C. Parsons, "Contributions to Hopi History," American Anthropologist, n. s. XXIV (1922), 288.

Fourteen clans not mentioned by Mindeleff in the study of house occupants were introduced (or at the time of his study were not represented by female members),¹ and ten of his groups seem to have become extinct or so thoroughly incorporated into larger associations by 1930 as to have lost individual distinctiveness.² Partial explanation for these divergencies might be found in the system used by the persons giving information, with regard to stating clan affiliation. For example, descendants of persons listed by Fewkes, in 1900, as Kokop were classified in 1930 as Fox or Coyote. The Lowie classification of 1915 likewise showed comparable variations from that used by Fewkes and from that made in 1930. This probably accounts for such incongruous results as the occurrence of Snow clanspeople only at Walpi in 1883, and at Shipaulovi in 1930; that of the Cottonwood clan only at Hano in 1883, and at Mishongnovi in 1930; and for the first mention of the Ahowa, Aiwahokwe, Moon, Fox, Skeleton, Ground Squirrel, and Crow clans in 1930. In spite of isolated cases of differentiation such as those listed, there is the suggestion that the tendency, functionally at least, is toward concentration rather than clan division.

Clans listed separately in 1930, but which bid fair to lose distinct recognition, were Badger, Coyote, Flute, Horn, and

¹Additions: Skeleton, Bluebird, Ground Squirrel, Wolf, Fox, Goat, Greasewood, Butterfly, Clay, Fog, Foggy Cloud, Crow, Deer (also Deer-Elk), Pine or Fir. Some of these clans are quite old and doubtless were in existence as part of a phratry grouping not revealed by house ownership, or were included in another name, as Sand and Clay. Fewkes lists Butterfly and Pine in 1893. Mindeleff omits Chimopovi and includes husbands only indirectly.

²Some of these were:

<u>Lowie</u>	<u>1930</u>
Cedarwood-Fire	Skeleton-Fox-Coyote
Qalo	Sun
Lizard	Sand-Snake
Bear	Spider-Bluebird
Hawk	Eagle

Rabbit at First Mesa; Badger, Cottonwood, Horn, Pumpkin, Skeleton, and Snow at Second Mesa; and Pumpkin at Third Mesa. Present indications point also to a dying out of the Fox-Coyote and Snake-Sand groups at Second Mesa, and a possible complete disappearance of the Bow-Arrow combination from the tribe. Reference to the table shows this movement to be more evident, and the number of clans becoming extinct locally more extensive, when the villages are considered. Since each village pursues a more or less individual existence, adjustments in the way of a greater recognition of phratral relationships may be expected to become increasingly necessary.¹

Although considerable shifting of population is known to have taken place during the period of conflict over placing the children in government schools, with one exception the movement apparently was by households or small groups of related households, not by clans. The wholesale transfer of the Spider people from Oraibi to Hotevilla, therefore, is to be noted.²

Considering the tribe as a whole, the five largest of the twenty³ clan groupings based on the 1930 classification were found to make up fifty per cent of the total population.⁴ In order of size these were: Sun-Moon-Eagle-Ground Squirrel, 325; Corn-Cloud-Foggy Cloud-Fog, 317; Coyote-Goat-Fox, 275; Rabbit-Tobacco, 187; Spider-Hopi Rope-Bluebird, 154. While these statements of the combi-

¹Changes in the personnel of the priesthoods of the religious societies, for example.

²Mrs. Parsons lists a Spider Clan at Oraibi in 1920.

³The use of the clan combinations in this case accounts for the variance with the previous figure.

⁴It is worthy of note, however, that in three instances the total combination did not occur at any one village or mesa, and that none of the five were to be found at all the villages.

nations perhaps indicate present, everyday usage, they do not represent the actual extent of the relationships involved in the various alliances, since, as previously pointed out, they do not include all of the component clans. The character of the phratry groups differing somewhat at the three mesas, each was given separate consideration, Eggan's classification being used for Third Mesa,¹ that of Fewkes² forming the basis of division for the other two. The distribution of the population (1930) according to these groupings is given below.

FIRST MESA AND SECOND MESA

	First ³	Second
I. Cloud, Rain, Maize, Rainbow, Lightning, Agave, Sivwapi, Frog, Tadpole, Pawikya (Aquatic Animal).....	110	136
II. Bear, Wild Cat, Bluebird, Spider.....	17	195
III. Badger, Porcupine, Turkey Buzzard, Butterfly ⁴	19	51
IV. Squash, Crane, Pigeon Hawk, Sorrow Making...	--	15
V. Rabbit, Hare, Tobacco ⁴	76	--
VI. Snake, Dove, Puma, Cactus, Opuntia, Nabovu..	22	11
VII. Sand, Lizard, Sihu (Flower or Bush Clan)....	72	--
VIII. Reed or Arrow, Eagle, Hawk, Turkey, Sun, Puukonhoya (War God), Palunhoya (Water God), Coku.....	68	214
IX. Coyote, Firewood, Wolf, Yellow Fox, Gray Fox, Zrohono, Masauu (Death God), Eototo, Pinon, Juniper, Bow, Sikyatci (Bird), Tuvatci (Bird).....	109	19

¹Frederick Eggan, "The Social Organization and Kinship System of the Western Pueblos." (Unpublished Doctor's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1933.)

²J. W. Fewkes, "Tusayan Migration Traditions," Bureau of Ethnology, Nineteenth Annual Report, Part II, 1897-1898, pp. 582-585.

³This portion of the distribution lacks accuracy in that the phratry grouping of the Tewa clans included differs somewhat from that of the Hopi.

⁴According to Forde, the Tobacco, Badger, and Butterfly clans were linked at Second Mesa. No Rabbit-Tobacco people were listed on the 1930 clan classification.

	First	Second
X. Katsina, Crow, Parrot, Yellow Bird, Bird (Tawamana), Spruce, Cottonwood.....	85	27
XI. Horn, Deer, Antelope, Tcaizra, Flute, Blue Flute, Mountain Sheep, Ant, Black Ant, Great Ant, Tiny Ant, Red Ant.....	85	4
XII. Tcakwaina (Asa), Road Runner, Magpie, Bunting.....	56	--

THIRD MESA

I. Patki (Waterhouse), Snow, Pikyao (Young Corn Ear), Rain, Cloud, Lightning, Corn, Frog, Tad- pole, Sivaipi.....	85
II. Bear, Spider, Bluebird, Carrying Strap.....	77
III. Badger, Butterfly, Porcupine.....	76
IV. Kele, Crane, Pumpkin or Squash, Duck.....	14
V. Rabbit, Tobacco, Katsina, Crow, Parrot.....	157
VI. Sand, Earth, Snake, Lizard, Burrowing Owl, Prairie Dog.....	95
VII. Sun, Moon, Stars, Eagle, Hawk, Turkey, Qala.....	92
VIII. Greasewood, Reed, Road Runner, Bow-Arrow.....	169
IX. Masau'u, Hovahkap, Fire, Cedar, Pihonghoya, Kwani, Coyote, Fox.....	208

Here, also, the more homogeneous character of the Second Mesa with respect to clan composition was evident, the five largest of the divisions represented, embracing approximately 90 per cent of all persons listed. However, it was significant that at no mesa was any one phratry sufficiently large to become a controlling factor because of numbers.¹ Nor has the movement of population been such that any one of these groups commanded a dominant position in this respect at all three mesas. While possible unions might be effected, as between the Water People at First and Second Mesas, or the Coyote groups at First and Third Mesas, the size of the other combinations was deemed sufficient to prevent these becoming, as yet, factors in tribal politics.² For the present at

¹However, certain of the clans traditionally enjoyed certain privileges.

²The Young Men's Council, with a membership from all of the villages, is organized without reference to clan. Nevertheless, the leader of this group has attempted to justify his right to leadership on the basis of a tradition. The Hopi's attitude

least, it would seem, the traditional independence of the local villages will be maintained.

Figures by which changes in clan size might be traced were available for First Mesa and for two Second Mesa villages.¹ Of the latter, changes at Shipaulovi were marked by a loss in Sun clanspeople and the addition of a number of new clans. However, the population of any one of these, except Butterfly, was insignificant. Were the figures for Mishongnovi adjusted to the differences in nomenclature, the changes in clan size probably would not be striking. As in the previous table showing the clan composition of the population, the data for First Mesa are comparable within restricted limits, since the census for 1893 and for 1900, as previously mentioned, probably does not list the clans of husbands born outside of the village under consideration. Disregarding this factor, the phratry composed of the Corn and Water groups and the Rabbit-Tobacco people alone were found to be holding their same relative rank in size in 1930 as in 1893. Noticeable gains were made by all of the groups except the phratries in which the Bear and Asa clans were predominant, whose populations remained about the same, and those of the Snake and Badger-Butterfly alliances which suffered considerable loss. The following shows the comparison for First Mesa, by phratry groups.²

toward political power as being a matter of hereditary responsibility rather than of aggressive competitiveness, and the lack of differentiation between the ceremonial and the political probably also should be considered.

¹The comparisons made are based on the studies, previously cited, of Fewkes, made in 1893 and in 1900, that of Lowie for 1915, and the clan classification of the 1930 population.

²The phratries are indicated by the first clan of each group as listed on page 45. There was none belonging to the Squash group at First Mesa at either date.

	1893	1930
Cloud Group.....	120	110
Horn Group.....	68	85
Coyote Group.....	57	109
Rabbit Group.....	56	76
Tcakwaina (Asa) Group.....	51	56
Katcina Group.....	47	85
Sand Group.....	36	72
Snake Group.....	35	22
Badger Group.....	33	19
Reed Group.....	25	68
Bear Group.....	15	17

Descent being through the mother, the potential development of the clan groups should be read in the percentage of the members of each who were females not above child-bearing age, rather than in the total population. Although the smaller figures should be taken into consideration, several First Mesa groups, with approximately 50 per cent of their membership women below fifty years of age, gave promise in 1930 of especially healthy growth both for the clan and for the phratries to which they belonged. Only one clan of Second Mesa (Bear), with 47 per cent, approached this proportion, while the Rabbit-Tobacco and a small group of Katcina clanspeople, highest at Third Mesa, made a scarcely better rating at 48 per cent. However, no phratry group at either First or Third Mesa had fewer than one-third of its members listed as females of this age. Less encouraging were the prospects for the survival at Second Mesa of the alliances of which the Horn, Pumpkin, Katcina-Parrot, Sand, and Snake people were members.¹

While the spreading of clans beyond the village boundaries has not been spectacular, the increase in the number of these groups noted at Hano, Sitsomovi, and Shipaulovi suggests the

¹The data are based on an analysis, according to sex and age, of the clan census material for 1930.

possibility of some movement having taken place.¹ Two factors might account for these changes--either the taking up of residence by the wife in the husband's village, or the inclusion of husbands previously not recorded. An analysis of the distribution of the Hopi census families² (1930) by clans pointed to the latter as the explanation of all but two additions at Shipaulovi.³ The reverse seemed to have been true at Hano and at Sitsomovi where the establishment of several new clans was indicated. This shifting of clans was reflected also in the fact that no phratry group at First Mesa held the same relative position as to number of families, as in 1883. This was less true at Third Mesa, although some change was evident. Especially noticeable was the phenomenal growth of the Coyote group at the First and Third Mesas, and of the clans making up the Katsina combination at First Mesa. Likewise significant was the fact that First Mesa furnished eleven of the fifteen families in which the wife or mother was of a tribe other than Hopi.

No attempt was made to discover whether the growth in number of families (census) tended toward greater unity or greater disintegration in the phratry groups. It is probable that both number of lineages found among these families and localization of the various members were greater factors.

¹For example: the Badger, Butterfly, Deer-Horn-Elk, and Reed clans into Hano; the Coyote, Deer-Horn-Elk, Fir-Pine, and Flute clans into Sitsomovi; and of Badger, Fir-Pine, Parrot, Katsina, Pumpkin, Sand-Snake, Hopi Rope, and Bluebird clans into Shipaulovi.

²A family was considered as belonging to the clan of the wife or mother, or of the children in the case of their being listed with a widowed father or alone.

³One Pumpkin and two Butterfly (clan) families.

Except at First Mesa, where practically all of the Sun clanspeople were Christians, the proportion of any one clan so departing from the traditional ways was too small for the effect upon clan procedure and ceremonies to be significant. Isolated cases were recorded in which, during the early efforts of the missionaries, adjustment or abandonment of portions of the native ceremonial calendar occurred. Voth relates, for instance, that the chief priest of the Marau Society at Oraibi became a Christian in 1903, passing his duties over to his half-brother. According to Mrs. Parsons, the ceremony was allowed to lapse in 1920. On the other hand, Shalako, for many years the chief Snake priestess at First Mesa, gave up her part in the ceremony upon adopting Christianity; but the Snake Dance still is held. A Kiqotsomovi woman told in 1932 that her mother, after becoming a Christian, had not taught the Cloud clan secrets to her (the mother's) brother, and that now there was no one to perform the rites. However, this must have been a very minor portion of the ritual, since ordinarily a priest prepared his successor. A lack of feeling of clan unity among the converts was in evidence during the period under observation.

The comparisons available did now show sufficient uniformity in the movement of population to make feasible more than speculative generalization. Some clans gave indication of becoming extinct, others displayed phenomenal growth, while some tendency toward a more even distribution of population among the phratry groups was in evidence. Present indications point to a continued absorption of smaller clans into the phratral combinations with which they are affiliated. From this, either of two developments seemed possible: First, a gradually increasing indifference to clan identity, as the benefits therefrom decrease, the degeneration

of the phratries into loosely-linked, purely nominal associations, and a final dissolution of both clans and phratries as functioning groups. It was not determined whether the reported instances of clan assistance in a financial way were limited to members of direct kinship groups or included the entire clan. Observation would lead one to believe that at the present time the element of personal affection between clanspeople is not great, the bond of unity lying rather in the claims to certain lands, the possession of rites (and possibly idols) possessed of specific powers, and in the demands exacted by custom-crystallized obligations. Second, a more thorough concentration into a few well-organized divisions competing for power. However, the present distribution of the combinations among the three mesas and villages, the independence maintained by the local social organizations in their activities, and the ceremonial functions which tradition ascribes to these groups will prevent, for the present at least, the transition of any one phratry into a significant political factor. In either event, the belief seems tenable that a growing importance of the small family group thus liberated is to be anticipated.

The Societies

The major ceremonies of the Hopi people were performed by organized groups which for want of a more exact terminology have come to be known as fraternities or religious societies. Each cult seems to have been introduced by some specific clan or phratry,¹ and the ritual was administered by a priesthood, the chief office of which ordinarily was hereditary and thus tended to remain the

¹These probably were carried from village to village by some member of the organization who knew the secrets. The Oaqól Society, for instance, is said to have been introduced into Mishongnovi by women spared at the destruction of Awatobi; the Warrior Society to have come from Zuñi or the Rio Grande pueblos in later times.

prerogative of this group. Whether the personnel likewise ever was so limited or, as Fewkes states, an expanded kinship group, is uncertain:

It has been stated by good authorities that the modern organization of religious societies among pueblos is wholly independent of the clan, which is undoubtedly true of some of the societies among the Hopi as well. Although each religious society contains men and women of many clans, the fact remains that the chiefs of any society generally come from the family of the same name as the society and hold hereditary positions. It seems to me that these apparently divergent views are in strict harmony, and that the modern Hopi religious society is in most instances simply an expanded kinship group.¹

At least during more recent years, no such restricted membership has been in evidence, and initiation into a society may follow upon choice or as a penalty for intrusion within definite limits during the progress of a ceremony.²

Both Fewkes (referring to First Mesa) and Voth (speaking of Oraibi) stated that every Hopi man and boy at one time or another was initiated into one of the four societies taking part in the November ceremony, while the former remarked also that many of the prominent men belonged to several. This doubtless was true of Second Mesa as well. Curtis, a number of years later, noted that all Hopi boys and many girls became members of the Katsina Order. The present number belonging to each existing "wimi" is not known. Active participation in many has decreased through the indifference of the younger people, while actual membership probably also has suffered in like proportion. There were some twenty adult initiates at the Second Mesa Bean Dance, in 1932, but

¹J. W. Fewkes, "The Growth of the Hopi Ritual," Journal of American Folklore, XI (1898), 185.

²One woman related that a child so trespassing could avoid initiation only through the payment of a ransom by the parents. A native trader from Kiqotsomovi, entering a Second Mesa village during the ceremony of November, 1931, was forced to purchase his release.

comparison with previous years is impossible. The accompanying table shows the villages at which the societies listed by Curtis and others still occur. The information was given by a man at Kiqotsomovi and not rechecked and is presented for its suggestive value only. It does show the persistence of the organizations at the conservative villages, and the tendency toward their abandonment at Oraibi and at the newer villages, except Hotevilla.

TABLE VI
DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES
ACCORDING TO VILLAGES, 1932

Society	Hano	Sitsomovi	Walpi	Shipsaulovi	Mishongnovi	Chimopovi	Kiqotsomovi	Oraibi	Bacabi	Hotevilla
Kwan-wimi.....	x	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	x
WG-wútsim-wimi.....	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	x	x
Tátauksya-wimi.....	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x
Soyal-wimi.....	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	x	-	x
Powamú-wimi.....	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
Chú-wimi.....	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x
Tsóp-wimi.....	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x
Cakwalén-wimi.....	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x
Macilén-wimi.....	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x
Lalakón Society.....	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
Mamzrau Society.....	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	x
Yaya-wimi or Sumaikoli..	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
Katsin-wimi.....	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
Pai-a-kya-muh (Clowns)..	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x
Ka-lek-to-kwa-wym-ki-yas	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	-

The following were not listed at any village:

Al-wimi, Móts-wimi, True Teukuwymkiyas, Alo-sa-ka-wympkiyas, Nocoto, Poc-wympkiyas, Dawa-wympkiyas. (Wimi - society. Wymykiya - member.)

The Oaqól Society had not functioned at any place since about 1928. Mucaizru -- This is a Buffalo Dance and held at all of the villages.

Koyimsi -- Katsinas

Koyca'maci or Ta-teuk-ti -- This was said by the informant to be just a masked Katsina Dance. If it refers to the Mud Heads, they still are to be seen.

According to information given Bourke, the secret orders existed for the good which their knowledge made it possible for them to do:

A secret order is for the benefit of the whole world, that it may call the whole world its children, and that the whole world may call it father, and not for the exclusive benefit of the few men who belong to it. But its privileges are the property of its members, and should be preserved with jealous vigilance; since, if they became known to the whole world, they would cease to be secrets, and the order would be destroyed, and its benefits to the world would pass away.¹

One of the objects of the order is this: Whenever anybody gets bitten by a snake, he sends for one of our order, presents an offering, as you have done; then a prayer is made over the offering. . . . the medicine is administered, and the patient immediately gets well.²

Whether, with the death of the old people, these will become extinct or merely change in character is for the future to determine. It is possible that those which can be adapted to social functions will be retained while those making more rigid demands upon the individual will disappear.

Kiva Membership

The kivas possibly are reminiscent of a time when each association of clans or religious cult had its own ceremonial room. At present, new kivas apparently are erected whenever a sufficiently large group so desire and some one person is willing to accept the responsibility of its chieftaincy. These furnish a place for the performance of the secret parts of all ceremonies and the public portions of some, and serve as work, recreation, and, in cases, gambling and sleeping retreats for the men. The kiva group to which a man belongs probably depends upon the

¹John G. Bourke, The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884), p. 183. (Quoting a Hopi, Nanahe.)

²Ibid., p. 194. (Quoting a Hopi, Nanahe.)

fraternity into which he was initiated, although now the total membership of any one undoubtedly embraces more than one religious society. A man identifies himself specifically with one kiva but is welcome in all, except during rites when all but priests are excluded. His family attend the ceremonies in the kiva of the group to which he belongs. No kiva groups were known in 1930 which were composed entirely of women.

What is the Hopi family?--Eight groups may be identified in the Hopi social structure--the village, the kiva membership, the phratry or association of clans,¹ the single clan, separate lineages within the clan or the matrilineal family of several generations, the family as defined for census purposes, and the household.

Two only of those named, the clan and the more limited matriarchal group, according to their definition, distinctly meet the kinship requirement for family association. According to Fewkes,

Among these people, a clan is a "consanguineous aggregation of men, women, and children possessing the same totem". The essential or characteristic feature that distinguishes a clan from a family, or one clan from another among the Hopi, is the recognition of a tutelary or its nature. The members of the clan are related by blood or adoption and are exogamous, the children belonging to the mother's clan. Each of these Hopi clans or social and religious units possesses certain insignia--sacred objects or fetishes that are characteristic and hereditary in the female line. A Hopi clan has its own migration and origin legends and in some instances a mythology with characteristic names for its supernatural tutelaries. Each clan has an hereditary chief; the fetishes are kept by the oldest woman. A Hopi clan may be enlarged into a so-called fraternity or religious society by the adoption of members of other clans; but when this occurs the ceremonies of these societies are essentially those of the tutelary of the clan from which they sprang. The chief of the clan is chief of the evolved society² and has charge of the rites as well as the idols, altars, and other sacred paraphernalia. The word, "clan," is inadequate to designate one of these groups and gives a wrong impression of their nature. It should give way to some more exact term.³

¹No entirely satisfactory term has been found for these divisions; the word "phratry," frequently employed, having been adopted as a matter of expediency. To the individual clan group, Fewkes applied the word, "wunwu," the Hopi word for clan member; and to the larger association, "nyamu," or the native term indicating the plural, clan members, or according to Lowie, the clan group considered collectively.

²Dwindling or disappearance of clans has resulted in some adaptation of this rule.

³J. W. Fewkes in "Proceedings of the Anthropological Society of Washington," American Anthropologist, n.s., VI (1904), 761.

Concerning the real blood kinship existing between these groups, Lowie summarizes his present (1929) attitude as follows:

Of the existence and the importance of the maternal lineage among the Hopi there can be no doubt. Whenever the statement is made that a certain office or ceremonial privilege belongs to a clan, concrete data always show that transmission is, above all, within the narrow circle of actual blood-kin and only secondarily extends to unrelated clansmen. The question remains, however, to what extent the clans as now constituted among the Hopi coincide with the maternal family and here the evidence varies for different clans. . . . I am therefore inclined to assume with Dr. Parsons that basically the Hopi clans are maternal lineages.¹

"Clan" here is used to designate a group who customarily do not intermarry, and who claim a common name² and ancestry traced through the mother, plus others admitted by adoption (or possibly by the more gradual process of absorption, in the case of linked-clan members). Since the clan over-runs village and possibly also tribal boundaries, any actual kinship existing may be very remote. More intimately related, is the extended matrilineal group which includes two or more generations in a direct lineage through the mother, together with male persons introduced through marriage.³

The village obviously is eliminated from consideration as a family group through the tribal practice of clan exogamy, and the religious societies and kiva organizations, believed once to have provided for the interests, or to have possessed a ritual representing the specific magical powers of some one clan (or

¹Robert H. Lowie, "Notes on Hopi Clans," American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, XXX (1929), 330-31.

²This refers to the totem name. The individual's name designates the clan of his father, not his own.

³It is not intended to imply, however, that the husband, at marriage, joins the clan of his wife.

phratry) with which it may have been identical, now embraces a much less limited membership.

The exact relationship of the clan and the phratry is understood but imperfectly. The latter consists of two or more clans (or perhaps divisions of one clan) between which an intimate relationship is recognized. Marriage within the phratry group is not approved, and the names given a child at christening may indicate either the father's own clan or others within the grouping. The logic suggested in some combinations, such as Sand, Snake, and Lizard, or Sun, Moon, and Eagle, fails in others,¹ nor do the same clans seem to be associated with a like degree of intimacy at all three mesas. The story of the origin of several Mishongnovi clans thus belonging together, even assuming its authenticity, does not make clear whether the people in question claimed a common descent but thus differentiated themselves, or represented several distinct lineages drawn together for protection or for other reasons. Lowie writes concerning these linkages,

It seems that for different reasons pairs or whole series of designations are linked by the Hopi; sometimes the associated names really correspond to distinct, but linked, clans; sometimes they are regarded as distinct names for the same clan; sometimes there is no pretense that certain of the names were ever in historic times borne by any Hopi group, yet they are given in an enumeration of clans in association with the names of definite clans now extant.²

The present phratral groups consist of associations of lineages or clans in which, in varying degrees, the phratry and a dominant clan tend to become identical.

¹Were more known of the history of the various phratries, a greater logic doubtless could be assigned. There is the possibility also, that the choice of the clan name would be shown to be less incidental than the stories told of their origin would indicate. Eggan suggests that these groupings represent classification of the various aspects of nature, Curtis that in some cases at least, they are but synonymous names for the same clan.

²Lowie, op. cit., p. 331.

Two other community divisions, the household and the census family, quite as definitely base their identity upon the fact of living together. For the first, no limitations in the way of kinship are placed.¹ Instructions given those taking the Hopi Reservation census for 1930 state that parents and children shall be included, but also all other relatives and persons living with them, subject only to the quite ambiguous proviso that they do not constitute another family group.² Obviously, all four of these groupings might be identical. Since a common dwelling offered the most objective means for recognition of group boundaries, the household was chosen as the basis for the inquiry.³ According to the definition adopted, this term was applied to those persons who were sharing a common dwelling unit and the activities and responsibilities concerned with its maintenance. The problem thus resolved itself into an attempt to discover the character of the group living together.

Pursuant to this purpose, the residence of each census family (1930) was plotted on ground plans of the new villages and on Mindeleff's drawings of five of the old ones,⁴ made some fifty

¹A group of persons sharing a common dwelling unit and the activities and responsibilities concerned with its maintenance, was considered a household.

²A family is composed of the following members: Both parents and their unmarried children, if any, living with them, all other relatives and persons living with the family who do not constitute another family group.

Either parent and the unmarried children, if the other parent is dead, all other relatives and persons living with the family who do not constitute another family group. (In operation this was interpreted to include divorced parents also.)

³Indian custom with regard to hospitality places considerable difficulty in the use of this method also.

⁴Walpi, Shipaulovi, Mishongnovi, Chimopovi, and Oraibi. The distribution of clans on these sketches was made by A. M. Stevens. That for Chimopovi, however, did not show clan localization.

years previous. Because of the difficulties experienced in the case of Hano and Sitsomovi, due to the altering or replacing of old structures with new ones of a different type, and to the overlapping of old and new boundaries, recent sketches were substituted for those of 1883.

A person familiar with the village in question then was provided with a plan of it, on which each house (if separate), or room (if part of a cluster), or clan section of rooms (in the case of the Mindeleff-Stephen material) was given a number, and with a record of families as given in the census. When the family consisted of two parents and children, or mother and children, the names of husband and wife, or mother, alone were listed. In the case of widowers and children, or a man and his wife and family members other than unmarried children, each was named separately. Instructions were given that the number of the place where each person actually was living was to be written in front of the name, and after it a statement concerning his kinship status with regard to his nearest maternal relative. Since the interest was limited to that of residence, these relationships were stated in terms of living persons. Where possible, status was given as son of or daughter of, niece of or nephew of, grandson of or granddaughter of, etc., and was not recorded reciprocally. When none of the preceding generation was still alive, persons were identified as brother of, sister of, cousin of, etc. This information next was supplemented with data from genealogies constructed from census material and the work of Fewkes, Voth, Lowie, Curtis, and Forde, and covering all three mesas.

Sketches and detailed charts are presented for the four

villages¹ of Third Mesa only. Of these villages, Hotevilla represented a new but decidedly reactionary section, Oraibi a very old and conservative one, while Kiqotsomovi stood at the other extreme in being more "progressive." Due to the circumstances of its founding, much of both the old and the new was brought together in Bacabi, the last village to be built.

The house members were charted as they were given in the records, which did not account for all of the rooms. In some instances, these may have been vacant. In others, doubtless all space actually in use by a family was not included and adjoining property thus not always so indicated. The following legend was used throughout:²

- a, b, c, etc. -- Different census families belonging to the same household.
 - d -- Data were lacking.
 - Status -- Status within the household group of all members other than unmarried sons or unmarried, childless daughters.
 - H -- Husband.³
 - W -- Wife.³
 - O. L. -- Oldest living of the direct lineage.
 - O. M. -- Member of the household other than husband, wife, unmarried sons, or unmarried, childless daughters.
 - Dau. or d. of -- Daughter of.
 - S. of -- Son of.
 - Others -- Indicates the existence of other near relatives, only those most significant being listed.
- Daughter of Oraibi 9(a)W would signify a daughter of the wife in census family "a" occupying house, number 9, at Oraibi. Oraibi 9(a)H would signify house, number 9, at Oraibi, census family "a", husband.

¹The new sketches were not drawn to scale and indicate only the relative location of each family.

²Familiar clan names were abbreviated upon occasion. The following are typical: Tob. -- Tobacco; Rab. -- Rabbit; Bad.-Butter. -- Badger-Butterfly.

³For convenience in tabulation, the designation of husband or wife was applied also to those widowed who were heads of census families.

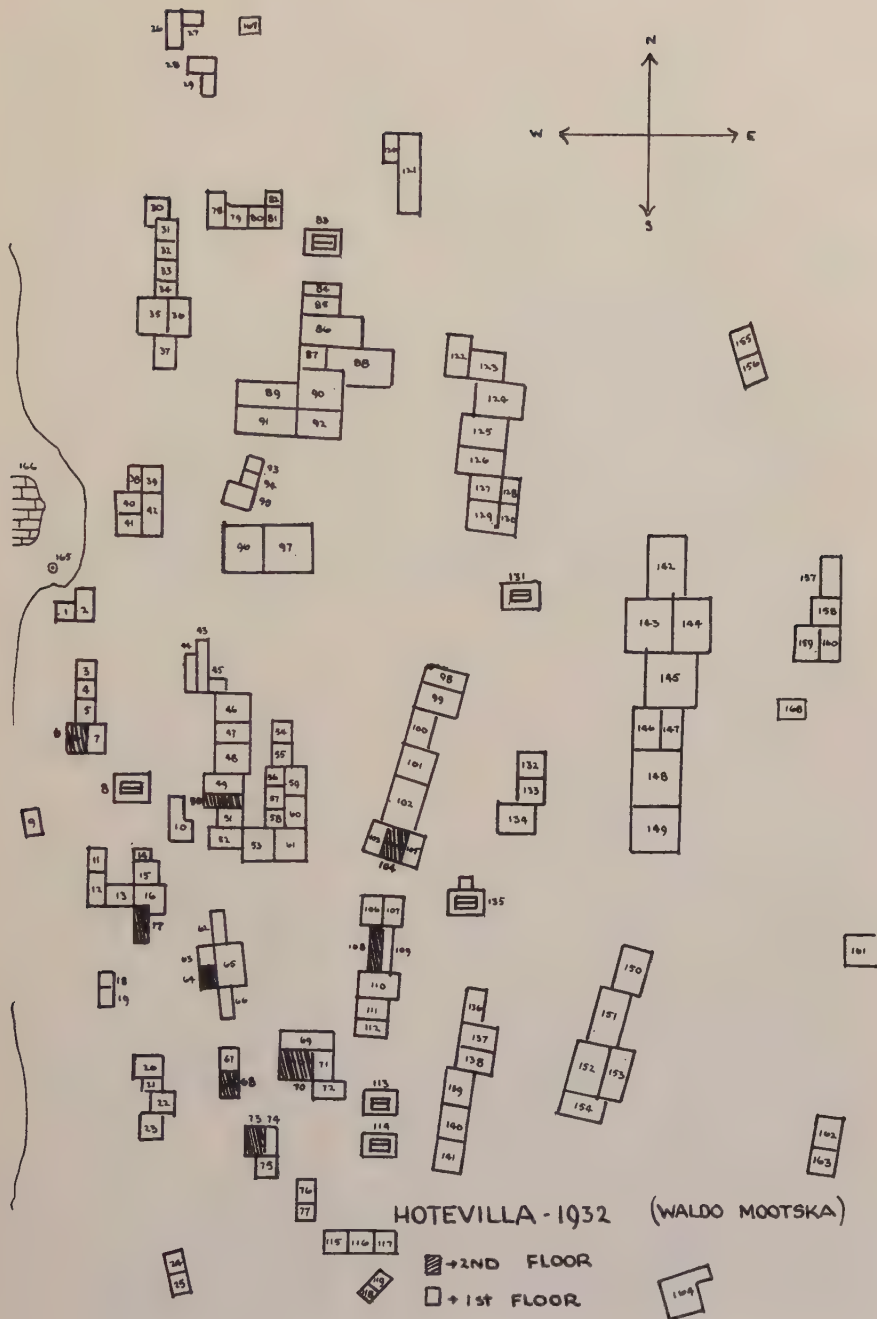


TABLE XXX
LOCATION AND COMPOSITION OF HOTEVILLA HOUSEHOLDS

House- hold	House Number	Clans Represented		Status	Significant Relationship
		Females	Males		
1	1-2	Rabbit-Tob.	Sun	W	Daughter of Hotevilla 106-107 W. Son of Hotevilla 49 W.
2	3-4	Sand	Sun	W	Sister of Hotevilla 122(a)H. Brother of Hotevilla 86 H.
3	5	--	Corn	W	Dead.
	b	--	Sun	H	Brother of Hotevilla 115 W. Dead.
		Sun		OM	Son of 5(a)H. Brother of Hotevilla 6-7 H. Unmarried niece of 5(b)H and her small children. (Married in 1935)
4	6-7	Sun		OM	Unmarried niece of 5(b)H and her small children. Sister of above.
		Greasewood	Sun	W	Daughter of Hotevilla 69-71 W. Brother of Hotevilla 5(b)H.
			Greasewood	OM	Nephew of 6-7 W.
5	9	Greasewood	Badger	W	Sister of Hotevilla 35-37(a)W.
			Greasewood	H	Uncle of Hotevilla 102 W.
			Greasewood	OM	Grandson of 9(a)W.
			Greasewood	OM	Brother of 9(a)W.
	b	Greasewood	Sand	W	Daughter of 9(a)W.
6	10	Pumpkin		H	Son of Hotevilla 3-4 W. O. L.
	a		Sand	W	Brother of Hotevilla 69-71 H.
			Pumpkin	H	Brother of 10(a)W.
		Crow		OM	Granddaughter of 10(a)W. Niece of Hotevilla 61(b)W.

TABLE XXX -- CONTINUED

Household	House Number	Clans Represented		Status	Significant Relationship
		Females	Males		
7	11	Coyote	Sand	W	Sister of Hotevilla 18-19 W; Bacabi 17 W. O. L.
8	14	Lizard		W	O. L.
9	15	Greasewood	Greasewood	H	Brother of Kigotsonovi 54 H.
10	15-17	Spider	Coyote	W	O. L. (Dead in 1935)
11	18-19	Coyote	Corn	H	O. L.
12	20	--	Rabbit	W	Sister of Bacabi 25(a)W. Brother of Bacabi 17 W.
13	23	Rabbit	Cloud	H	Dead.
14	24-25 a	Sand-Lizard	Coyote	W	Cousin of Hotevilla 150 W.
15	26-27 b	Sand-Lizard	Greasewood	H	Sister of a Hopi woman in Winslow. Son of Hotevilla 139(b)W. Grandnephew of Hotevilla 24-25(a)H.
16	28	Reed	Crow	W	Sister of Hotevilla 89 W; Hotevilla 149 W. Uncle of Hotevilla 66 W; Others.
17	29	Coyote	Reed	H	Daughter of 24-25(a)W.
18	32	Habbit or Sand-Lizard	Sand-Lizard	W	Son of Hotevilla 9(a)W.
19	34	Coyote	Greasewood	W	Sister of Hotevilla 72 W. Brother of Hotevilla 62 H.
			Lizard	W	Sister of Bacabi 25 W. Son of Bacabi 9(a)W.
				--	Three sisters and a brother (motherless) who formerly lived with a grandmother.
				W	Daughter of Hotevilla 150 W.
				H	Son of Bacabi 19 W.
				W	O. L.
				H	Brother of Hotevilla 150 H.

TABLE XXX -- CONTINUED

Household	House Number	Clans Represented		Status	Significant Relationship
		Females	Males		
20	35-37	a Greasewood	Badger	W	Sister of Hotevilla 9(a)W. Brother of Hotevilla 139 H; Oraibi 58 W; Others.
		b Greasewood	Rabbit	W	Daughter of 35-37(a)W. Son of Hotevilla 106-107 W.
	c Sand	Greasewood		W	Daughter of Hotevilla 3-4 W. Son of Hotevilla 9(a)W; nephew of 35-37(a)W.
21	42	Coyote	Spider	W	Cousin of Bacabi 45 W.
			Coyote	H	Brother of Hotevilla 16-17 W; Others.
22	43-45	a Sun-Eagle		OM	Nephew of 42 W.
			--	W	O. I. Dead.
		--	Sun-Eagle	H	Dead.
23	49	b Sun-Eagle		W	Son of 43-45(a)W.
		Sun	Badger	W	Widowed daughter of 43-45(a)W. Dead.
				H	Sister of a woman living at Five Houses. Brother of Hotevilla 81-82 H; Hotevilla 122(b)H.
24	52-53	Rabbit	Spider	W	Sister of a woman at Keam's Canyon. Son of Hotevilla 16-17 W.
		Spider	Sand	W	Sister of Hotevilla 160 W.
25	54	Sand		H	Brother of Hotevilla 112 H.
			Reed	W	Daughter of Hotevilla 149 W.
26	55			H	Son of Hotevilla 15 W.
		Crow	Sun	W	Dead in 1935.
				H	Dead in 1935.
27	61	a Crow		OM	Two granddaughters of 61(a)W.
				W	Granddaughter of 61(a)W.
		b Crow	Coyote	H	Son of Oraibi 85 W.

TABLE XXX -- CONTINUED

House- hold	House Number	Clans Represented		Status	Significant Relationship
		Females	Males		
28	62	Eagle	Crow	W	Daughter of Hotevilla 43-45(a)W. Brother of Hotevilla 26 H.
29	65	Coyote	Greasewood	W	Sister of Hotevilla 79-80(a)W.
30	66	Coyote		H	Brother of Hotevilla 124(a)W.
31	68	Eagle	--	W	Sister of Hotevilla 110-111 W; 139-140(b)W; 139-140(a)H. Dead.
32	69-71	Greasewood	Greasewood	H	Sister of Hotevilla 129(a)W. Son of Hotevilla 37 W.
33	72	Reed	Sand	W	Sister of Oraibi 104 W; a Moencopi woman.
34	74	--	Coyote	W	Brother of Hotevilla 10 H. Unmarried daughter of 69-71 W and her two children.
35	78	Reed	--	H	Daughter of Hotevilla 15 W. Son of Hotevilla 3-4 W.
36	79-80	Coyote	Coyote	W	Dead or divorced.
37	81-82	Coyote	Bear	H	Brother of Hotevilla 139 W. Sister of Hotevilla 139 W. Dead.
		Coyote	Coyote	W	Daughter of Hotevilla 15 W. Brother of Hotevilla 65 W.
		Coyote	Spider	W	Sister of Hotevilla 65 W. O. L.
		Coyote	Coyote	W	Daughter of Hotevilla 79-80(a)W. Son of Hotevilla 160 W.
		Coyote	Badger	W	Probably dead.
		Coyote	Badger	H	O. L. Uncle (?) of 79-80(a)W. D. of Hotevilla 65 W; niece of 79-80(a)W. Brother of Hotevilla 122(b)H.

TABLE XXX -- CONTINUED

House- hold	House Number	Clans Represented		Status	Significant Relationship
		Females	Males		
38	86	Reed	Sun	W	Sister of Hotevilla 105 W. Brother of Hotevilla 3-4 H.
39	89	Sand	Badger	W	Sister of Hotevilla 149 W; 24-25(b)W.
40	91	Cloud	Sand	OM	B. of Kiqotsomovi 3 H; Kiqotsomovi 93-94 H. Brother of 89 W.
	a	Cloud	Sun-Eagle	W	Sister of 91(b)W.
	b	Cloud	Coyote	H	Nephew of Hotevilla 43-45(a)W.
41	92	Spider	Lizard	W	Sister of 91(a)W. Nephew of Hotevilla 108-109(a)H; Others.
	a	Spider		H	Sister of Hotevilla 92(b)W; 42 H; 122(b)W.
	b	Spider		W	O. L.
42	93	Greasewood	Cloud	W	S. of Hotevilla 92(a)W; 42 H; 122(b)W.
				H	Brother of Hotevilla 164 W.
43	95	Corn	Pumpkin	W	Daughter of Hotevilla 35-37(a)W.
	a		Greasewood	W	Son of Hotevilla 10 W.
	b	--		W	Sister of Hotevilla 150 W.
44	99	Spider	Greasewood	H	O. L. Dead or divorced.
				H	Brother of Hotevilla 95(a)H.
45	100-101	Crow	Coyote	W	Daughter of Hotevilla 54 W.
				W	B. of Kiqotsomovi 19 H; Kiqotsomovi 52 W.
46	102	Badger	Coyote	H	Granddaughter of Hotevilla 61(a)W.
				W	Son of Hotevilla 79-80(a)W.
			Sand	H	Sister of Hotevilla 168 H; a Winslow woman.
			Badger	W	Son of Hotevilla 24-25(a)W.
			Badger	OM	Brother of Hotevilla 102 W.
47	105	Reed		OM	Uncle of Hotevilla 102 W.
			Eagle	W	Sister of Hotevilla 86 W.
				H	O. L.

TABLE XXX -- CONTINUED

House- hold Number	Clans Represented		Status	Significant Relationship
	Females	Males		
48 106-107	Rabbit	Spider	W	Sister of Hotevilla 141 W. Brother of Hotevilla 108-109 W; 163 W; 142 H.
49 108-109 a	Spider	Coyote	W	Sister of Hotevilla 163 W; 106-107 H; 142 H.
b	--		H	Brother of Bacabi 55 H.
		Reed	W	Dead.
50 110-111	Coyote		H	Father of 108-109(a)W.
		Snake	W	Sister of Hotevilla 66 W; 139-140(a)H.
	Coyote		H	O. L.
			OM	Sister of Hotevilla 140(c)W; niece of 110-111 W. Unmarried mother of a child also here.
		Coyote	OM	Nephew of 110-111 W.
51 112 a	Sun		W	Daughter of Hotevilla 49 W.
b	--	Cloud	H	Nephew of Hotevilla 150 W.
		Sand	W	Probably dead.
			H	Brother of Hotevilla 54 H; Father(?) of 112(a)W.
52 115	Corn		W	Sister of Hotevilla 5(a)H.
		Lizard	H	O. L.
53 116-117	Sand or Corn		W	Sister(?) of Hotevilla 144 W; niece(?) of 115 W.
		Coyote	H	Uncle of Hotevilla 28 W.
		Sand	OM	Grandson of 116-117 W.
54 118-119	Rabbit		W	Daughter of Hotevilla 106-107 W.
		Sand-Lizard	H	Cousin of Oraibi 14 H.
55 120-121	Greasewood		W	Daughter of Hotevilla 35-37(a)W.
		Sand-Lizard	H	Son of Hotevilla 24-25(a)W.
56 122 a	Coyote		W	Sister of Hotevilla 139-140(b)W.
		Sand-Lizard	H	Brother of Hotevilla 3-4 W.
	Coyote(?)		W	Grandmother(?) of 122(a)W.
	--		H	Probably dead.

TABLE XXX -- CONTINUED

Household	House Number	Clans Represented		Status	Significant Relationship
		Females	Males		
56 (Cont.)	b	Coyote(?)	--	W	Grandmother(?) of 122(a)W.
		Coyote		H	Probably dead.
		Spider		OM	Nieces and nephews of 122(a)W.
		Spider	Badger	W	Sister of Hotevilla 92(a)W; 92(b)W; 42 H.
57	124	Greasewood	Rabbit	H	Brother of Hotevilla 81-82 H; 49 H.
				W	Daughter of Hotevilla 122(b)W.
58	126	Greasewood	Coyote	W	Son of Hotevilla 106-107 W.
				H	Sister of Bacabi 41 W; Hotevilla 65 H.
59	129	Corn-Cloud	Corn	W	Brother of Hotevilla 144 H.
				H	Daughter of Hotevilla 35-37(a)W.
60	132-133	Eagle	Badger	W	Brother of Hotevilla 95 W.
				H	Sister of Hotevilla 150 W.
61	139-140 a	Reed	Coyote	W	Dead.
				H	Sister of Hotevilla 68 W; 105 W.
62	141-142	Katsina	Sand	W	Son of Oraibi 38 W.
				H	Dead.
63	143-144	Reed	Coyote	W	Widowed father of 129 W.
				H	Brothers of 129 W.
64	145-146	Reed	Coyote	W	Sister of a Winslow woman.
				H	Son of Hotevilla 149 W.
65	147-148	Reed	Coyote	W	Cousin of Hotevilla 86 W.
				H	Brother of Hotevilla 139-140(b)W; Others.
66	149-150	Reed	Coyote	W	Probably dead.
				H	Brother of Hotevilla 139-140(b)W; Others.
67	151-152	Reed	Coyote	W	Sister of Hotevilla 122(a)W; 139-140(a)H;
				H	66 W; 110-111 W.
68	153-154	Reed	Coyote	W	Brother of Hotevilla 35-37(a)H; Oraibi 55 H;
				H	Others.
69	155-156	Reed	Coyote	W	D. of Hotevilla 66 W; niece of 139-140(b)W.
				H	Son of Hotevilla 9 W.

TABLE XXX -- CONTINUED

House- hold	House Number	Clans Represented		Status	Significant Relationship
		Females	Males		
62	141	Rabbit		W	Sister of Hotevilla 106-107 W; Kiqotsomovi 50 H.
63	142		Sand	H	Brother of Oraibi 11 W.
		Greasewood		W	Daughter of Hotevilla 69-71 W.
64	144	Corn	Spider	H	B. of Hotevilla 106-107 H; 163 W; 108-109(a)W.
				W	Sister of Hotevilla 116-117; and of a Chimopovi woman.
65	149		Coyote	H	B. of Hotevilla 124(a)H.
		Sand		W	Sister of Hotevilla 89 W; 24-25(a)W.
66	150	Corn	Eagle	H	Brother of Kiqotsomovi 71-72 H.
				W	Sister of Bacabi 48 W; Oraibi 68 W.
67	151	Rabbit	Snake	H	Brother of Hotevilla 34 H.
				W	Granddaughter of Hotevilla 141(a)W.
68	155	Coyote	Sand	H	S. of Hotevilla 24-25(a)W.
				W	Daughter of Hotevilla 65 W.
69	158	Crow	Crow	H	B. of Hotevilla 158 W; Bacabi 6 H.
				W	Sister of Hotevilla 155 H; Bacabi 6 H.
70	160	Spider	Reed	H	Son of Hotevilla 38 W.
				W	Sister of Hotevilla 54 W.
71	163	Spider	Sand	H	Sister of Oraibi 11 W.
				W	Sister of Hotevilla 108-109 W; 106-107 H; 142 H.
72	164	Cloud	Sun	H	B. of Hotevilla 49 W.
				W	Sister of Hotevilla 92(b)H.
		Cloud	Crow	H	Grandson of Hotevilla 61(a)W.
				W	Mother of 164 W.
			--	H	Dead.
		Cloud	Cloud	OM	Sister and 2 brothers of 164 W.

TABLE XXX -- CONTINUED

Household	House Number	Clans Represented		Status	Significant Relationship
		Females	Males		
73	167	Corn	Sun	W	Daughter of Hotevilla 95(a)W.
74	168	Coyote	Badger	H	Nephew of Hotevilla 5(b)H; 6-7 H.
75	Moencopi (a)	Greasewood	Coyote	H	Daughter of Hotevilla 139 W.
76	Data lack. (1)	Data lack.	Coyote	W	S. of Hotevilla 26W.
77	Data lack. (2)	Cloud	Coyote	H	Daughter of Hotevilla 9(a)W.
				W	Brother of Bacabi 55 H; Hotevilla D.L.(2)H.
				H	Name not recognized.
				W	Name not recognized.
				H	Daughter of Hotevilla 95(a)W.
				W	Brother of Bacabi 55 H and of a Moencopi man.

8, 83, 113,
114, 131
165
166

Kivas
Spring
Terraced gardens

^a Listed at the reservation in 1930.

The Clan as the Household Unit

Traditionally, each new clan (or group of clans) arriving at the mesas was said to have been assigned a specific location for house building. Of this concentration of related groups, Cosmos Mindeleff writes,

The ancestors of the present inhabitants of the villages reached Tusayan in little bands at various times and from various directions. . . . Related clans commonly built together, the newcomers seeking and usually obtaining permission to build with their kindred; thus clusters of rooms were formed, each inhabited by a clan or a phratry. As occupancy continued over long periods, these clusters became more or less joined together, and the lines of division on the ground became more or less obliterated in cases, but the actual division of the people remained the same and the quarters were just as much separated and divided to those who knew where the lines fell.¹

At the present time the house of the priestess of the clan is considered the home of that clan, There is no doubt that in ancient times the localization of clans was rigidly enforced, as much by circumstances as by rule,² and the ground plans of all the ruins were formed by it.²

The same authority has furnished the most extensive factual information concerning clan localization through his sketches, previously mentioned, made in 1883 or thereabout, before white contact had become an important factor. These portray the distribution of these groups on the basis of the clan of the female head of each house.

From these, he was led to believe that the massing together of houses was a requirement of the phratry rather than of the clan, and gave as a further conclusion that the scattering observed at that time would become more apparent than real were

¹"Localization of Tusayan Clans," Bureau of Ethnology, Nineteenth Annual Report, Part II (1897-1898), p. 648.

²Ibid., p. 653.

the phratry groupings better understood. Of the continued observance of this districting, in the mores if not in fact, he expressed little doubt. Concerning this he says,

In the olden days, each phratry occupied its own quarters in the village, its own cluster or row, as the case might be, and while the custom is now much broken down, just how far it has ceased to exercise its influence is yet to be determined.¹

At first glance, the clans appear to be located with the utmost irregularity and apparently without system, but a closer study shows that notwithstanding the centuries which have elapsed since the period covered by the old traditions of the arrival of the clans, the latter are in a measure corroborated by the maps. It is also apparent that notwithstanding the breakdown of the old system, whereby related people were required to build together, traces of it can still be seen.²

The scattered appearance of the clans on the maps is more apparent than real. It is unfortunate that the phratral relations of the clans could not be completely determined, and it is probable that were this done the clans would be found to be well grouped even now. Even the insufficient data that we have, appear to show a tendency on the part of the clans to form into groups at the present day, notwithstanding the partial disintegration of the old system.³

Victor Mindeleff, writing of the years 1882, 1883, voiced a differing opinion with regard to the persistence of this sectioning. According to him,

The houses do not appear to bear any relation to division by phratries. It is surprising that even the social division of the phratries is preserved. . . . There is no doubt, however, that in the earlier villages each gens, and where practicable, the whole of the phratry, built their houses together.⁴

Three factors, other than social requirement, should be considered in relation to such clustering of dwellings as earlier might have obtained--limited building space, the custom of providing for married daughters by additions to the maternal domicile (the tendency thus representing an outward growth rather than an

¹Ibid., p. 647.

²Ibid., p. 650.

³Ibid., pp. 652-53.

⁴Victor Mindeleff, "A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola," Bureau of American Ethnology, Eighth Annual Report (1886-1887), pp. 23-24.

imposed segregation), and possibly the centering of clan interests and religious activities in the home of the ranking member of the clan.¹

Each village studied in 1932, displayed in varying degrees, the same tendency toward an indifference to clan or phratry limitation with regard to location. This is amply shown in the keys to the sketches, which are given. Instances were not lacking of persons of the same clan living in adjoining houses, but these small clusters were scattered about the village apparently according to no prearranged plan. Such groupings as were observed might find equally plausible explanation in the use of inherited property, and the relative size of the various clans making up the population. This was indicated more forcefully when the clans of the husbands were left out of the consideration.

As might be expected, less change was exhibited at the more conservative villages and greater divergencies from the customary rule were found among the less elderly couples, but as in all things related to this paradoxical people, considerable blending of the traditional and the new had been achieved. The upper extreme of this disintegrating process was noted in the villages more recently built, even Hotevilla, distinctly antagonistic to change, not having remained immune. The court formation observable in one of the older sections of Kiqotsomovi offers the suggestion of an initial attempt at clan concentration, but this was not indicated by the clans of the present occupants of the houses. Some renting of old houses, however, does occur. The desire of those leaving the mesa top in 1890, to build and live in small communities may have represented clan rather than close or actual kinship grouping, although the arrangement of the

¹Eggan was able to locate a number of these clan homes.

houses at neither lower village gave proof of any such restriction. This was true likewise of the new houses built on the mesa top. After twenty-three years of its existence, only suggestions remained of what once may have been a clan zoning at Bacabi.

At the mesas where building space is extremely limited, newly married couples had as an alternative to leaving the village, occupancy of old houses had through inheritance, or the erection of new ones on sites already owned or that might be procured. Obviously, this might have resulted in either the retarding or the acceleration of clan scattering, depending upon changes in the population and the current attitude. Since government influence has been directed toward increasing the popularity of the one-story house, and the general tendency during the past fifty years has been toward its acceptance, the greater impetus probably has been in the latter direction. Chimopovi, of the Second Mesa villages, displayed more noticeable inclination to utilize space away from the village cluster. Both Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi, with little room for expansion at the mesa level, had, with few but increasing exceptions, cared for housing needs or standards through utilization of inherited property or the acquisition of that of clans becoming extinct or of persons willing to sell or rent.

While a nominal claim to old homes at Oraibi was maintained, those with houses at Kiqotsomovi definitely were living below the mesa. This was only partially true of persons occupying houses below First Mesa, where, with the exception of the Christian families, a considerable degree of integration between the upper and lower village life was in evidence.

Incidental information regarding the location of piki houses and store rooms and of vacant houses claimed by the

different families, suggested that a more telling picture of the situation with regard to the distribution of clan ownership of property would have been possible had a like approach been made by way of the questions, "What people claim this room?", "Whose house is this?", "From whom did he or she get it?", rather than that alone of "Where does this family live?". Such a study is planned.

That the inhabitants of these clustered dwellings ever carried on the affairs of life on a communistic basis is exceedingly questionable. The Hopi, themselves, say not. The present scattering of the members of the different clans certainly would render unfounded an assumption of any such extensive unit for household activities, and no instances were observed where a system of this sort was in operation.

Except where cultural ties have been entirely broken, some degree of sentiment as well as rights of ownership, attaches to these old family sites.¹ At First Mesa, many Polacca families return to the upper villages for the dance seasons; frequently old men, at the approach of death, request to be taken to their own homes;² and those first moving down from the mesas are said to have carried dying children back to the old homes that the spirit might with greater ease find its way about familiar places. So long as clan ritual serves to integrate clan members, financial advantage is derived from the possession, clan population remains unchanged, or limited space makes necessary the use of old sites,

¹Whether the binding power is that of clan unity, kinship of the household group, or a feeling akin to that for shrines marking previous locations, is not known.

²This would be the mother's house or one which the man or his sisters had inherited from her. The dwelling shared with the wife is considered her property although neither she nor her relatives may have had any part in its erection.

vestiges of this original clan localization will persist. A wider distribution of some clans and the dying out of others, with consequent purchase or rental of old dwellings¹ certainly is to be prophesied.

The Extended Matrilineal Family as the
Household Unit

Description of the Hopi household as an extended matrilineal group has received almost unquestioned acceptance. So late as 1933, Eggan states,

The Hopi household is ordinarily composed of an old woman and her husband, her younger sisters and their husbands, married daughters and their husbands, unmarried sons, and the children and possibly grandchildren of the married daughters.²

His statement but repeated inferences to be gained from the reports of other students of Hopi life.

Observations in 1930 and 1932 led to conclusions much more in agreement with Kroeber's findings with regard to the Zuñi, published some fifteen years earlier.

In any event . . . , it is clear that the basis of the Pueblo family is substantially that of our own, and that the traditional formula so favored by ethnologists, of large, communal, matriarchal groups is non-existent among these Indians.³

Subsequent, systematic analysis of the data revealed that first impressions were in error much less frequently than was expected. Mrs. Beaglehole, likewise found the biological family of father, mother, and children to be the basic unit in forty of the fifty-one Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi households which she studied

¹At the present time these transactions seem to be on an individual (small) family basis.

²Eggan says elsewhere however, that there were exceptions and his statement may represent an unfortunate use of the present tense.

³A. L. Kroeber, "Zuñi Kin and Clan," American Museum of Natural History, XVIII (1917), 124.

during the summer of 1934.¹

If, as seems possible, the estimates of Escalante in 1775 (1249 families and 7494 persons) and of Governor Bent in 1847 (350 families and 2450 persons) were made on a household basis, the number of man-wife groups within each of these must have been quite limited, or the number of one- and two-person households sufficiently great to reduce the average appreciably. The figures for 1890, of 1996 persons distributed among 364 families, indicate a reduction in the size of each unit, but probably mark also an effort on the part of the enumerators to isolate the small family group.

Assuming that the man and his wife occupied the same dwelling, such a large-family household as that portrayed would point first to matrilocal residence. Second, it would result necessarily in a clustering of the living quarters of the female members of each lineage group, if not their occupancy of a common domicile. Third, it would imply that this larger group constituted the unit for carrying on the essential activities of daily existence.

Findings derived from an analysis of the distribution of census families disclosed that exceptions to the rule of matrilocal residence were not lacking and took several forms. Twenty families from Third Mesa alone were living away from the reservation entirely, at the time that the census for 1930 was taken;³ some eight to ten others, largely from the eastern villages, made

¹Pearl Beaglehole, "Census Data from Two Hopi Villages," American Anthropologist, n.s., XXXVII (1935), 43.

²The first of these probably was greatly exaggerated as to numbers; both must have been quite superficial.

³The number of those living in nearby towns varies according to the availability of employment.

their homes for at least a portion of the year at Keam's Canyon, while new homes on the mesas built away from the village clusters marked thirty-nine departures from the maternal roof.¹ About one-third of the one hundred and ten families at Oraibi, Shipaulovi, and Mishongnovi, for whom data were had, were living in a house the clan designation of which (according to C. Mindeleff) was that of the wife. Approximately ten per cent occupied dwellings which apparently had belonged to a member of the husband's clan. Instances were by no means rare of wives who had left their own village to live in that of the husband, and a few cases were noted in which a daughter-in-law shared the home of a husband's mother. Likewise evident was the necessity that conclusions with regard to residence after marriage should take cognizance of the fact that a majority of Hopi still marry persons from within the boundaries of their own locality.

The village of Hotevilla was founded about a quarter of a century ago as an expression of direct opposition to the innovations which had been introduced. Therefore here if anywhere one might reasonably expect to find the maternal household persisting as the type. On the contrary, only sixteen of its seventy-seven households² for whom complete data were available, consisted of more than one family,³ and in only seven of these was a married daughter or granddaughter and her family living as

¹Distributed according to village there were: At Shipaulovi and Mishongnovi (and on the ledge below), 10; at Chimopovi, 10; at Oraibi, 3; at Bacabi, 6; at Hotevilla 10. Only occupied houses were counted. Homes shared with a maternal relative, even though widowed, were omitted.

²Data were lacking for two census families.

³Family here refers to a man and his wife, and either or both parents and children. The number of these enlarged households fell to eleven when the five were eliminated which included an unmarried relative and her children.

a part of her mother's (or grandmother's) immediate family group. In at least a portion of these it was doubtless true that it was the daughter who shared her home with the parents, rather than vice versa. No maternal group included more than one married daughter.

A description of each of these sixteen households indicates the diversity of arrangement to be found.

- Household 1. a. A widowed man.
House No. 2.
- b. A widowed son of family "a".
 Two unmarried or divorced granddaughters of
 family "a" and their children.
- Household 2. a. A man and his wife, both elderly, a son (21),¹
House No. 9. two daughters (18, 14), a grandson (8), a
 brother or nephew of the wife. A sister of
 the wife was living in another part of the
 village.
- b. A married daughter (29) with her husband and
 three children. Another married daughter was
 living with her husband at Moencopi.
- Household 3. a. A man and his wife, between sixty and seventy
House No.24-25. years of age, and a son (21). A sister of the
 wife was living in another part of the village.
- b. An only living daughter (23) and her husband,
 childless.
- Household 4. a. An elderly man and his wife, a son (39), a
House No.35-37. daughter (22), a daughter (20). A sister of
 the wife is the oldest woman of Household 2.
- b. A married daughter, her husband, and three
 children. Three other married daughters were
 living in other parts of the village.
- c. A nephew of the wife of family "a" and his
 wife and three children. The nephew is the
 son of the oldest woman of Household 2. The
 mother of the nephew's wife was living in
 House No. 3-4, Hotevilla.
- Household 5. a. A widowed mother and her widowed son, a
House No.43-45. prosperous trader.
- b. A widowed daughter and her four children.
 Another married daughter and her family re-
 sided at another house.

¹The ages are given as of 1930.

- Household 6.
House No. 61.
- a. An elderly man and his wife (both dead in 1935) and two granddaughters (23, 19).
 - b. A married granddaughter and her husband, childless. Another married granddaughter, who had been reared by the grandparents, and her family lived elsewhere in the village.
- Household 7.
House No. 79-80.
- a. A man and his wife, of middle age, three sons (19, 17, 6) and three daughters (21, 13, 10). A married sister lived at House 65. A man, ninety years of age, probably an uncle of the wife.
 - b. A married daughter and her husband, childless.
- Household 8.
House No. 91.
- a. A man and his wife and three minor children.
 - b. A sister of the wife of family "a" and her husband, childless.
- Household 9.
House No. 92.
- a. A man and his wife and two minor children.
 - b. A sister of the wife of family "a" and her husband, childless.
- Two other married sisters and their families were located at houses elsewhere in the village.
- Household 10.
House No. 110-111
- a. A man of middle age and his wife, a son (28), a daughter (18), a nephew (20). A married sister of the wife was living across the court.
- An unmarried niece (33) and her infant. (A married sister of this woman lived elsewhere.)
- Household 11.
House No. 122.
- a. A man (47) and his wife (55), two nephews (18, 17) and one niece (14) of the wife (the children of the widowed man of family "b", Household 1), the elderly widowed mother of the wife. A sister of the wife was a member of Household 13.
 - b. A man and his wife of middle age and their three children. (It is not clear why this woman should be living here since she had three married sisters living in Hotevilla. Any relationship would not be closer than that of cousin, and through a father since the clans are different.)
 - c. A married daughter of the wife of family "b", childless.
- Household 12.
House No. 124.
- a. A man (60), his wife (57), and a daughter (19). The wife had a married sister who lived at Bacabi.

- b. A man and his wife and three children. The wife probably is a niece of the wife of family "a" although this was not evidenced in the data available. She had parents and married sisters each living in different houses in the village.

Household 13. a. A man (63), his wife (57), a brother of the
House No. 139- husband.
140.

- b. A sister of the husband of family "a" and her husband, a son (15), a daughter (13). The wife had a sister living in Household 11.

- c. A niece of the wife of family "b", her husband, and three small children. The mother of this woman was living elsewhere in the village.

Household 14. a. A man (70), his wife (68), a son (27), a grand-
House No. 141. son (19). A sister of the wife lived in House
No. 106-107.

An unmarried granddaughter and her two small children.

Household 15. a. A man (66), his wife (64), a son (42), a
House No. 69-71. daughter (22).

An unmarried daughter (30) and her seven year old son. A third child out of wedlock was born to this woman in 1932.

Household 16. a. A man (27), his wife (25)
House No. 164. The widowed mother of the wife, two sons (16, 10), and a daughter (19).

Occasionally the home of a niece was found to be next to that of an aunt, but likewise that of a brother next to that of a sister, or a brother to that of a brother.

Residence data were lacking for three Bacabi census families. Of the twenty-eight households which were located, only one (that of parents and a son with his wife, the daughter of an Oraibi woman, and children) consisted definitely of more than one family.¹ A man and his wife and a married daughter and her family were sharing (1935) a new house (Number 45) but the father and mother claimed also house, number 25, and probably utilized it as well. A sister of the mother was living at Hotevilla. One

¹Both parents were dead in March, 1935.

dwelling (#23) housed a man and his wife and her widowed father, but no other married sisters, one of whom resided at house, number 56, in Bacabi, another in Hotevilla. Since the house was part of the village cluster, it is possible that mother and daughter shared a common domicile during the former's lifetime. A widowed aunt and her three adult children (not the mother who lived at Bacabi #12) lived in the home of a niece and her husband (#51). Two married sisters and their families made up one household group (#44).¹ The older sister in addition owned house number 20, at which a married niece and her husband also were listed. Since the latter couple lived in Winslow when work might be found, it is probable that the occupancy of the two houses by the three families represented a temporary arrangement. Here again a scattering of sister-sister, sister-brother, mother-daughter, mother-son, and aunt-niece occupancy of adjoining houses was in evidence but never a complete concentration of the lineage group.

Oraibi, with an abundance of vacant house space, and Kiqotsomovi, made up almost entirely of detached houses, but repeated the findings at Bacabi. Shipaulovi furnished the only instance in which mother, married daughter, and married granddaughter and their respective families shared one dwelling. In this case, the mother was quite elderly, the daughter had been widowed but had remarried, and the granddaughter was only sixteen years of age. Other members of the lineage were found elsewhere in the village, although the limitations of this section of the mesa enforced considerable proximity. Mrs. Beaglehole's statement of the situation at Shipaulovi and at Mishongnovi in 1934 was in general agreement with the conclusions arrived at in 1932.

¹The younger sister was living with the widowed mother when the 1930 census was taken.

There were two households in Shipaulovi and four in Mishongnovi in which the married daughter and her family reside with her mother. One household in Shipaulovi includes, among other relatives, two married sisters, their husbands and families, an arrangement apparently infrequent and, in this case, to be terminated soon by the removal of one family to a house now under construction. There are in Mishongnovi two households in which the married son (with his foreign wife) reside with his mother, an arrangement possibly not without precedent in those cases of Hopi-Navajo intermarriage in the last century where the couple preferred to reside with the husband's people.

The tendency to-day is for the married daughter to remove to a separate household as soon as her family is enlarged by two or three children; the new house she occupies is either another house in the village belonging to her clan, or, more desirably a new one on the ledge below.¹

At First Mesa, there was perhaps an even greater tendency for the young to establish a new household as soon as possible. There was also, probably, greater mobility on the part both of parents and children between upper and lower village homes, each feeling equally at home and spending much time in the home of the other.

Persons of the same clan may have been living in adjoining houses either as part of a family cluster of households, because of the use of inherited, purchased, or rented property, the relationship being distant or non-existent, or merely through the accident of marriage. Unfortunately, the terms in which the kinship data were stated limited the extent to which these differentiations might be made, a factor which the genealogical material in its present incomplete form did not, in all cases, remedy.

As was true of the clan, the distribution residentially, of members of lineage groups suggested that the daily tasks of each constituent household were not common responsibilities.

The Census Family as a Household Unit

Obviously, the question arises as to whether the census

¹Beaglehole, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

family as recorded did represent the real Hopi household. Analysis of the Third Mesa material obtained showed that in a large percentage of the cases, the enumerator had, as specified in the instructions, listed those who were living together. Except in the case of Hotevilla, by far the greater part of the difference lay in the counting as a separate family, of elderly widowed persons who apparently were living as part of another family group. Since some of these at least, did claim another dwelling which he considered his home and used at times, this interpretation was not wholly in error. Comparison of the number of census families listed in 1930 and of the households located in 1935, gave Kiqotsmovi 56 families and 53 households. Comparable data for the other three villages, stated in the same order, were: Oraibi, 38 and 33; Bacabi, 34 and 28-31;¹ Hotevilla, 93 and 75-77.¹ Variations between the average size of the census family and that of the household therefore would not be great except at Hotevilla.

In 1930, a fair working knowledge of one village and limited observation at the others, suggested that nominally each new dwelling unit did in turn become an independent establishment for housekeeping and industrial activities as well.

Regardless of the conspicuous outward manifestation of a changing mores, presentation alone of the more dynamic phases of the situation tends to minimize the influence of the customary with which one still should reckon. Nor did the Chimpoví man, who in 1932 was building a new home for his sister before before beginning that for his wife, express a particularly aberrant point of view when he explained, "One likes to do nice things for

¹The range is due to families for whom residence data were lacking.

his sister." It is significant, however, that the new house was next to that of his wife, not a part of a maternal group. Other traditional factors likewise should be considered, such as the feeling of the Hopi for his mother's house, the extent of the relationship system and the consequent number of homes in which he would be welcome, and a possible difference in attitude with regard to the place where he lives, both with reference to definiteness and to a sense of possessiveness.

Breeder of change has been the desire for more material goods and the lack of room in the maternal home for their placement; the conflict of the younger generation, wishing to live according to the ways of the white people, with the older people; and the husband's greater independence which has made the hope of these things possible.

A summary of the situation as given by a Hopi man offers, it is believed, reasonably fair conclusions in the matter:

It is not true now that we are living in large families. We are living the small-family way but still helping one another --brothers and sisters. . . . Some of the older people still think that the married daughters should live with the older ones [parents] and take care [of them] if they are real old, supplying them with food and wood. Why not? I still am supporting my mother-in-law, but I do not live with them.¹ Now a young man should provide the house for a daughter [the wife] when they marry. It used to be that the people of the clan relationship gave the house. A married daughter has to live in the mother's home until the house is given or built. A very kind son-in-law helps support his wife's family. Even though they [he and his wife] do not live with them they help one another. But some are not[kind]. When the son-in-law is stingy, this statement is not true.

¹The mother-in-law, however, was caring for the man's motherless children.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY

The Hopi country represents an area of concentration to which many clans retreated, driven by drought, starvation, and the necessity for co-operative effort against the attacks of neighboring tribes. This settlement proved to be a matter of the amalgamation of peoples of similar cultures, into which the contributory functions of the various groups were gradually fused, but the separate identity of each, in large measure, preserved.

Adjustment to an environment which offered only a relative security against the hazards of life was manifested in a population maintaining itself with difficulty against recurrent epidemic and famine, in a minimum of tribal intermixture, and in the emphasis of certain abnormalities such as albinism. It could be traced in a traditional routinization of life which prevented the development of initiative along a diversity of lines but which, by no means, induced a proven mental inferiority. It expressed itself also in a people somewhat smaller in stature than the average for the country as a whole, but possessed of great endurance, a people characterized by their timidity, fatalism, and conservatism, but also by industry, frugality, and a stubborn resistance in the face of great odds.

An intense struggle for existence, shared in common, together with the defensive isolation, went hand in hand with the development of a closely integrated social organization which was well adapted to the exigencies of life to be met, and capable of

a high degree of social control. The potency of this authority had its basis in the nature of the social structure, the dependence for subsistence upon the land and rainfall, lack of escape from primary group dictation, fear, and the emphasis upon individual responsibility for the welfare of "the people."

The unit of Hopi society was the clan. These clans were united into associations, usually designated as phratries, and were, perhaps, at one time coextensive with the religious societies and the kiva groups. They were composed of one or more matrilineal lineages made up in turn of parent-child families. An intricately interlacing system of blood and traditional relationships bound these into a unified whole.

Functionally, the clans controlled the land and the rain- and food-producing rituals, furnished the village officers, performed certain civic duties, marked the boundaries for exogamous marriage,¹ and provided their members with status and a defined rôle in the social group. Those activities most directly concerned with the physical and social adjustment of the individual were the responsibility of the extended matrilineal lineages which, with the small family divisions which they embraced, were possessed of a significant potential self-sufficiency. Both the man-wife and the parent-child relationship found a recognized place in the mores and were subject to traditional regulation, largely ritualized. Threading its way through every avenue of life was a ceremonialism inextricably linked with the life-dominating food quest.

Spanish occupancy of the region is recorded in traditions of exploitation, but also in a greater variety of foodstuffs, the use of sheep wool for textiles, and probably other material

¹Marriage within the phratry also was not approved.

benefits. The advent of the white American into the country ushered in an era of intense cultural conflict marked by internal dissension and division, open rebellion, and a final imbittered acceptance of the inevitable social disintegration on the part of the older people, and for the young a slow orientation to new standards and new life values. Results of this conflict may be read in population movements between villages and mesas, changes in the age distribution and sex ratio, and changes in the structure, functions, and prevalent concept of the family group.

Provision for the physical, social, and personality adjustment of the Hopi people had two aspects, the material and the ritualistic. These were so organically interwoven as to elevate to a religious passion the two objectives of Hopi endeavor--that there might be food, and that the people might be happy. The religious societies or the clans whose cults they represented had charge of the ceremonies of community significance. To the household group fell the responsibility of caring for the everyday needs of existence.

The investigation disclosed that the functions of the larger family associations (the clan or extended matrilineal family as the case might be) were being undermined by the mechanisms of white civilization. This was being accomplished by the availability and the use of commercial goods that might be obtained by means independent of local ceremony, custom, and control, through education, through usurpation of authority, and through the destruction of the sense of security and opportunities for expression which the old life gave. This was shown not to have represented a precipitous collapse of the native culture, but rather the slow disintegration of a primary social institution which was losing its value and its significance.

Three criteria were set up for family definition--recognition as a social unit, existence of a specific differentiating relationship, and co-operative activity. On this basis, three groups were selected for consideration--the clan, the extended matrilineal family, and the family as recorded in the census records. Each of these was analyzed with reference to the household, a unit signifying those persons carrying on co-operatively the activities and responsibilities of a common dwelling unit.

Remnants of house clustering might be detected, but changes both in character and in localization of the clans pointed to an existing and an increasing disintegration of these groups with regard to household unity. Analysis of the various lineages found within each clan disclosed that in comparatively few cases was even one married daughter sharing the parental home, and scarcely more often the adjoining house which custom is said to have dictated. On the other hand, study of the census family, whether in relation to size, composition, or residence, revealed that in a large majority of cases it is, and probably to a greater degree will become, the nucleus for household life; preserving its individual identity although other members may from time to time change the nature of its total membership.

A greater independence of the larger group was expressed also in a tendency to postpone marriage, especially marked for women in the lower age groups, but apparent in the case of both sexes. This decline in marriage rate was found to be at variance with the trend in the general population, and its full import probably not yet apparent, due to decreases in the number of widowed and divorced. Delayed marriage was caused partially but not wholly by the demands of school life. Since the increase in the percentage single was greater than that necessitated by either

sex ratio or age distribution, choice likewise was thought to have been a factor.

Changes with regard to whom the people marry were, upon the whole, less than those related to marriage itself. Typically, the Hopi married outside his own clan, and usually that of his father; a person of his own tribe, although there were exceptions, and more often than not a resident of his own village or mesa; and one who, in over two-thirds of the cases, was within five years above or below his own age. The size of the Hopi family has decreased during the past eighty years. Since there was little indication of increased sterility or artificial limitation of child bearing, this was credited to delayed marriage and more accurate census methods, more recently, and over the longer period, possibly to a real change in the composition of the family group.

Concomitant changes in the attitude of the people can be speculative only. That the specific type of family institution which Hopi culture has evolved will not persist unmodified after the destruction of the beliefs and necessities which have given it meaning and value, seems a fair assumption. Objective indications could be read in a lessened importance attached to clan distinctions, greater emphasis upon the social as opposed to the religious significance of the ceremonies, substitution of government for native regulations, and a growing consciousness of the small family unit as a separate entity. This latter was expressed in an altered status of the husband and the wife, in a more restricted system of inter-group relationships, and in the adoption of the system of nomenclature arbitrarily imposed for school and census record.

However, it was shown also that conclusions regarding the Hopi family as a definite group should be drawn with exceeding

caution, even when statistical evidence would seem to warrant such.¹ As a consequence of adjustments in the life of the people growing out of the impact of the white man's culture, the binding power of custom, and the tenacity of a well-integrated social organization, a type family might be identified at various stages, ranging from the slowly disintegrating but still influential clan unit, to a small family group only gradually becoming conscious of its separate identity.

The research undertook to study the Hopi family from three points of view. It discovered that structurally the household group had changed; that transfers of function had occurred between the clan, the extended matrilineal group, and the small family; and that a gradual change in the character of the family group receiving social acceptance was indicated. The possibility of a relation between these findings is suggested.

¹Throughout this paragraph the word "family," rather than "household," is used, indicating that conclusions should be made with regard to a wider relationship than that merely of residence.

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